

infrastructure, by reconstructing sewers, destroying the pipes that some had illegally connected to the aqueducts to bring water into their houses, tearing down houses that had been built illegally on public land, and raising the rent on public land. Consequently he became very unpopular with some Romans, but others erected a statue of him in the Temple of Salus, for he had tried to restore Rome's health.

Unlike Cato, Scipio Africanus was fond of Greek culture and ways. In 204 B.C., while he was in Sicily preparing for the invasion of Africa (see chapter 14), he was under attack by his political enemies in the Senate. Cato had been Scipio's quaestor, and he reported to the Senate that Scipio was wasting money on theater amusements for his men and on athletic contests. We also hear that "the general's style of living was not only not characteristically Roman, it was not even real army. He would hold his parades in the exercise area, wearing a Greek cloak and Greek slippers, and he spent his time and energy on books and Greek wrestling. His whole staff also just as indolently and lazily was enjoying the pleasures of Syracuse, having totally forgotten about Carthage and Hannibal. He had let the whole army be corrupted by all that indulgence" (Livy XXXI.19.11).

Scipio was exonerated of charges of wasting money, being extravagant, and sacrificing Rome's better interests to secure the safety of his son (whom Antiochus had captured and returned without ransom). However, in disgust at Rome's treatment of him, he retired in self-imposed exile to his estate in Liternum, ordering in his will that his body not be buried in ungrateful Rome. His brother Lucius fared worse: He refused even to give an account of the finances of the campaign against Antiochus and thus fell under suspicion of receiving bribes; for this he was expelled from the knights.

Yet despite his victory over the Scipios, Cato lost the war against Hellenism. The next two centuries saw a Golden Age of Latin literature, which became an amalgam of Greek, Roman, and Italian elements. This Greco-Roman literature shaped the intellectual development of western Europe.

## CHAPTER 16

# The Gracchi The Beginning of the End of the *Res Publica*

The period of the brothers Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, who held tribuneships in 133 and 123–122 B.C. respectively, inaugurates a century of incessant civil strife in Rome, with occasional outbursts of civil war. The struggle culminates in the civil wars of 49–31 B.C. and in the final destruction of the republican form of government. A century after the Gracchi, Rome was governed by the principate, a type of monarchy, created by Octavian (Augustus).

Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus came from a plebeian family that was well known and respected; their father had twice been a consul and once a censor, and their mother Cornelia, who personally supervised the education of her sons, was a daughter of Scipio Africanus. Tiberius, the elder of the two brothers, had a past that he and his family could be proud of. As a very young man, he had been honored with an augurship. Accompanying P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (adopted son of Scipio Africanus) to Carthage in 149 B.C., Tiberius had won the *corona muralis*, a crown awarded a soldier for being the first to climb over the walls of a besieged city. When he was a quaestor in Spain, his personal influence and reputation for fair dealing had helped save the lives of twenty thousand fellow Roman soldiers trapped by enemy troops; for that he should have been awarded the *corona civica*, a crown of oak leaves awarded to a soldier for saving the life of a fellow soldier. His early accomplishments presaged an illustrious career in service to Rome. Yet Tiberius was murdered in political strife, and his body dumped into the Tiber; his name to some Romans came to symbolize attempts at tyranny frustrated by patriots.

The trouble began when Tiberius was elected tribune in 133 B.C. He immediately called for reforms to address several problems:

1. *Decline of the peasantry.* Since its beginnings, Rome had been a city-state of peasant farmers working small farms, who served in the army in Rome's time of need. The number of family farms not just in Rome but also in all Italy had declined as Rome's increasing involvement in overseas wars required that the citizen-farmers leave their farms to fight in Spain, Greece, Gaul, Africa, or Asia. The family farmers typically did not own slaves who would work the land while the masters fought Rome's battles, and they did not have the money to live on while they restored their farms after long periods of neglect. Before Rome had overseas entanglements, the farmer-soldier could quickly return home when the war was finished, and work on the farm, although the story of the former centurion (see chapter 8) shows how difficult survival was even when Rome waged wars with immediate neighbors.

When these family farmers quit farming, they typically sold their land to wealthy men, who combined their purchases of many small farms into plantations worked by slaves; these large enterprises, called *latifundia*, also concentrated on raising sheep and cattle, thus increasing Rome's dependence on grain imported from Sicily and Africa.

The displaced peasants could try to make a new start by farming the public lands, which were lands Rome had confiscated either from its conquered enemies during its expansion in the fourth and third centuries or from those towns and cities that had taken Hannibal's side. A law, the Lex Licinia, forbade one man from farming more than 500 *iugera* (300 acres) of public land, but the rich landowners used their superior knowledge of the law and their powerful connections to drive the peasants from the public lands, which they then incorporated into their *latifundia*. The displaced farmers then drifted to the big city, Rome, to become craftsmen, tradesmen, or, more likely, one of the growing mass of the unemployed. Since there was no significant industry in ancient Italy and no demand for free labor, since servile labor was so cheap, the displaced farmers could no longer meet the property qualification for being a soldier. Rome's military might therefore suffered.

2. *Slave rebellions.* While traveling through Etruria on his way to Spain, Tiberius had noticed the great numbers of slave gangs working the fields and the dearth of peasants working family farms. The large numbers of slaves in Italy, if united under a capable leader, could cause great havoc in Italy. Such slave rebellions had already occurred in Asia, Greece, and, as recently as 135, in Sicily (a rebellion that the Romans overcame only with great difficulty).

3. *Agitation of the Italian allies for suffrage.* Ever since Rome and its allies had gained control of Italy early in the third century B.C., there had been roughly three classes into which the Italians could fall in their legal relations to Rome. First were the Roman citizens; second were those who held Latin rights (*Latinum nomen*), which meant Roman citizenship except for the right to vote and to pursue political office in Rome; third were the *socii Italici*, who had no rights in Rome and no say in the government of Italy or of the other Roman territories. Although liable for military service, the *socii* could not vote for the generals under whom they would serve and had no say in whether war should be declared. The Italians had long been pressing the Romans for some type of representation in governing Italy and the republic.

To address these problems, Tiberius proposed the following reform. He reaffirmed the old limit set by the Lex Licinia of 500 *iugera* of public land per man; to appease those already illegally farming public lands, he allowed the man, if a father, to claim an additional 250 *iugera* (150 acres) per son, with a maximum of 500 *iugera* for two sons. The rest of the illegally farmed land was to be confiscated and distributed to the landless poor, who could claim land according to the provisions of the Lex Licinia. The goals of this reform were to revive the family farmer in Italy, to relieve Rome of its unemployed poor, to increase the number of men eligible for service in the army, and to lessen the number of slaves in Italy.

Tiberius had the support of a few powerful men in the Senate, such as the consul Mucius Scaevola and Appius Claudius Pulcher, the *princeps senatus*; he would certainly need their help against the nobles who were illegally farming the public lands. Laelius, Scipio Africanus' friend, had made a similar but more radical

proposal years earlier, but he had promptly withdrawn it upon encountering opposition from some members of the aristocracy, who did not want to lose what they had invested in the illegally farmed lands. Tiberius encountered the same opposition, but did not bend to it; he pressed forward with the bill.

Tiberius created more opposition and hostility to his plan than would have been expected. Instead of bringing his plan to the Senate for its advice and approval, as was customary before bringing a bill before the Popular Assembly, he immediately brought his plan to the Popular Assembly, without first consulting the Senate. His snub of the Senate alienated many who might have supported him; they fought the bill for political reasons, simply to avenge the insult. They succeeded in getting another tribune to veto Tiberius' law; when Tiberius could not persuade that tribune to withdraw his veto, he convinced the Assembly to approve a law deposing the other tribune. Thus Tiberius removed the tribune and his veto, and the bill passed. A commission began to distribute the land.

The members of the Senate were alarmed. Tiberius had bypassed them in proposing the bill, and with measures of questionable legality he had squashed their legal attempt to defeat his bill. Was he aiming at making the Assembly and the tribunes the rulers in Rome? If he could simply eliminate the Senate's legal opposition to him, what would prevent him from becoming a tyrant and starting a social revolution with cancellation of debts and redistribution of land?

The senators had one more trick up their sleeves: They would deny Tiberius the money he needed to finance the land commission. But Tiberius got lucky: Attalus III, king of Pergamum, died and bequeathed his kingdom to Rome, including his substantial treasury. Tiberius then proposed a law to distribute Attalus' money to those who had been allotted public lands. The Senate relented and gave him the money for the land commission.

Tiberius' hardball politics had turned still more senators against him. He realized that he needed to be tribune for another year, both for his own protection and for the preservation of his laws, which the senators would doubtless declare illegal once he was out of office. Being elected to an office two years in a row was

illegal for magistrates, although it was unclear whether the law applied to tribunes. To help his bid for reelection, he proposed more laws that would strengthen his popularity among the common people.

Tiberius' proposals compelled some members of the Senate to take action. Led by Scipio Nasica—Gracchus' cousin and one of the largest owners of the public lands—they ordered the consul Scaevola to put down the tyrant; Scaevola responded that he would not be the first to use violence and would put no citizen to death without a trial. So a group of senators, led by Nasica—who, as pontifex maximus, was supposed to remain free of bloodshed—fearing that Tiberius was aiming at a tyranny, attacked and killed him and three hundred of his supporters. They dumped his body into the Tiber and denied Gaius permission to bury his older brother. Some of Tiberius' supporters survived the attack and soon found themselves on trial, while others were driven into exile without a trial. Those who had murdered Tiberius were not brought to trial; eventually the Senate, embarrassed by Nasica, sent him to Asia as head of some mission, where he later died. Nonetheless, the land commission continued distributing land.

Gaius, nine years younger than his brother, had been a member of the land commission. Some years after Tiberius' murder, Gaius had a dream in which the ghost of Tiberius said to him, "Gaius, what are you waiting for? There is no escape. We have both been given but one life and one death for fighting for the good of the common people" (Plutarch, *Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus* I). Gaius was elected tribune for 123 and reelected for 122. Gaius was more passionate than his brother; when he gave a speech, he was often so swept away by his emotions that his voice became high and grating, at which point he had a slave blow a little whistle, as a sign that Gaius should calm down. The senators feared him even more than his brother. He continued Tiberius' work and proposed some reforms of his own:

1. *The establishment of many colonies.* One of these was at the former site of Carthage, which had been destroyed in 146. Besides addressing a need to free Rome of many idle and unemployed people, establishing colonies would also make Gaius immensely

popular among the masses, and therefore very powerful, for the colonists would henceforth regard him as their *patronus*, and he would have many *clientes* to summon when he needed help.

2. *A law for the regulation of the sale of grain in Rome.* The price of grain fluctuated widely, and this caused the poor to suffer. Gaius wanted the government to buy grain in bulk and then to sell it at unchanging prices.

3. *Changes in the makeup of juries.* Since the jurors in the courts for judging Roman governors' conduct in the provinces were recruited from the nobles, the courts were ineffective in ensuring ethical administration (see chapter 15). Gaius wanted to abolish the juries of senators and to replace them with juries of members of the equestrian class, the knights, who would not have such sympathy for the accused.

4. *A grant of Roman citizenship to allies of Latin status, and Latin status to the Italians.* Rome could not have obtained its vast territories without the help of the Latins and Italians, yet did not show its gratitude to them by granting them some political rights and power. In 129 Scipio Aemilianus had tried to help the Italians, but failed; four years later the Latin colony Fregellae, which had stayed loyal to Rome during the Pyrrhic and Hannibalic wars, revolted and was destroyed. The consul of 125, M. Fulvius Flaccus, proposed a law giving citizenship to the Italians, but the Senate conveniently sent him on a military expedition to Gaul when his proposal was to be voted on. As one of Gaius' colleagues in the tribunate in 122, Flaccus continued his attempt to give the Italians the vote, or at least the *ius provocationis*.

5. *Miscellaneous reforms.* Gaius passed a law making seventeen the minimum age for military service, and another providing that soldiers' clothing should be paid for by the state, with no reduction in the soldiers' pay. He also passed legislation for the construction of roads to serve the needs of agriculture, not necessarily those of the military, as before. If he were to make a provision that the roads would be built by paid, citizen labor, instead of servile labor, that law would have made him extremely popular with the unemployed common people.

Gaius encountered opposition not only from the Senate, which wanted its power left unshaken, but also from the urban citizens,

who did not want to share the privileges of citizenship with non-Romans; before the proposal was voted on, the consul drove all non-Romans out of the city, so they would not put pressure on the voters. Gaius faced opposition also because of religion: The area of Carthage had been cursed (see chapter 15), and rumors spread that the colony, to be called Junonia, was on cursed ground and therefore contrary to the will of the gods. During the founding of the colony, terrible omens were seen, such as gales of wind blowing the sacrificial victims from the altars beyond the stakes demarcating the boundaries of the colony and even blowing away the stakes themselves.

With opposition growing, and plans being made to repeal the legislation, Gaius' supporters made a fatal mistake. They occupied the Aventine Hill (once public land, the Aventine had been given to the common people for settlement back in 456 and now was the plebeian quarter of Rome), thus causing the Senate to pass the *senatus consultum ultimum*, "the final decision of the Senate," which in effect declared martial law. The consul called forth armed citizens, who attacked Gaius' supporters, killing thousands and eagerly seeking Gaius himself, to earn the reward of the weight of his head in gold. While trying to escape, Gaius committed suicide. Dead bodies were thrown into the Tiber, and Opimius the consul condemned three thousand of Gaius' supporters to death without a trial. Their estates were confiscated, and their families were forbidden to wear mourning.

The affair of the Gracchi shows many faults in Roman government, which were left unsolved and eventually led to the Social War; the pacification of the unemployed urban masses by "bread and circuses"; the war with Spartacus; the growth of the professional army; and the fall of the republic. Among the immediate effects, the *equites* had been granted political power without political responsibility, and they frequently would use their wealth to guide Roman politics in a way advantageous to them, but not to the republic. Further, Roman politics was now sharply split between the *boni* (also called Optimates), who favored senatorial rule, and the *populares*, who wanted to rule Rome through their control of the popular assemblies. It is tempting for us to see the *populares* as democrats and the *boni* as republicans, but this is

inaccurate, for the *populares* were themselves aristocrats who had failed to break into the senatorial power group. The *populares* merely used the popular assemblies to gain the power they could not secure within the Senate. Were the Gracchi selfless reformers or radicals aiming for a tyranny? The truth probably lies somewhere between the two extremes. Either way, the next century of Roman history gave proof of their foresight.

## CHAPTER 17

## The War against Jugurtha and the Rise of Marius

Numidia had become an ally of Rome during the Second Punic War, when together they waged war on Carthage, and had been steadfast in its loyalty to Rome. Despite that longstanding alliance, Rome fought a war with Numidia.

The king of Numidia, Micipsa, had two sons by marriage, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and a third by adoption, Jugurtha. When Micipsa learned that he was dying, he summoned his three sons to his bed and asked them to divide the kingdom into three parts and to live in peace with each other. He would not live to see his hopes disappointed.

Soon after the death of Micipsa in 118 B.C., Jugurtha had his brother Hiempsal killed. He then attacked the kingdom of Adherbal; after losing the battle, Adherbal fled to Rome to seek assistance against Jugurtha, who now was king of all Numidia. Jugurtha had foreseen what Adherbal would do and had accordingly bribed many senators to reject Adherbal's pleas. The Senate then decided to divide Numidia between Jugurtha and Adherbal. Three years after the division, in 112, Jugurtha again attacked Adherbal's kingdom and besieged its main city, Cirta, where thousands of Italian merchants lived. Trapped in the city, Adherbal sent an embassy to Rome to beg for help against Jugurtha; the Senate then sent a commission to summon Jugurtha to address the Senate. The Italian merchants in Cirta felt it was now safe to surrender the city to Jugurtha, for, they thought, the authority of the angry Senate would prevent him from harming them. With the city in his hands, Jugurtha tortured and killed his brother and ordered his soldiers to kill all the adult males in the city. That included the Italians.

Outraged at the massacre, the Romans declared war on Jugurtha in 112 B.C. and sent the consul Bestia with troops to Africa to deal with Jugurtha. After Bestia had destroyed a few small towns, Jugurtha sent an embassy to him to seek a treaty. After receiving an enormous bribe, Bestia agreed to a treaty, by which Jugurtha surrendered only some elephants, some cattle, and a small amount of money.

Bestia returned to Rome, where the common people were outraged at his tender treatment of Jugurtha; Jugurtha, after all, had massacred thousands of Italians. They accused Bestia and other nobles of receiving bribes from Jugurtha. Jugurtha was summoned to Rome to give testimony about bribery, but his testimony was blocked by a tribune whom he had bribed. This further inflamed the anger of the common people; they suspected that Jugurtha's testimony would have implicated many nobles. With the Romans hating him and wanting to install a different king as ally in Numidia, Jugurtha had a rival claimant for the throne killed in Rome; he was then ordered to leave the city. Upon departing, he exclaimed, "Now that's a city available for a price, and it will fall soon enough, once it finds a buyer" (Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* XXXV).

The war was resumed. The Romans sent the consul of 110, Postumius Albinus, to Africa to conquer Jugurtha, but he failed to finish the war, despite his eagerness to do so before his term ended. When he left Africa to oversee the elections in Rome for the next year, he left his brother Aulus in charge as acting praetor. The foolish Aulus then allowed the army to be trapped by Jugurtha; to avoid the massacre of the army, he was forced to agree to a treaty by which his soldiers, after being sent under the yoke, would evacuate all Numidia within ten days. He too returned to face Rome's angry citizens, who demanded action against Jugurtha.

### THE RISE OF MARIUS

The next consul, Metellus, had to restore discipline and confidence to his troops when he arrived in Africa, for they had been demoralized and humiliated by Jugurtha. Metellus had some success in the war against Jugurtha—he captured towns and won

some battles—but could not capture Jugurtha. He was assisted in his victories by his legate, Gaius Marius.

Marius, born to an equestrian family in a village outside the town of Arpinum, had won awards while serving under Scipio Aemilianus at Numantia and showed himself fearless in carrying out whatever orders he was given. The common soldiers who served under Marius loved him, for he ate the same type of food, slept on the same type of bed, and did his share of drudge work alongside them, such as digging trenches. Despite his lack of illustrious ancestors—to the Roman nobles, Marius was an outsider—he decided to campaign for the consulship.

When Marius asked Metellus for permission to go to Rome to pursue his political ambitions, Metellus (a noble) at first responded that he should not seek things that he could not get and should not try to go above his station in life. When Marius asked again, Metellus told him to wait until after they had finished the business of the state. Marius made his request a third time; Metellus then told him that quite soon—in another twenty-three years—he could seek the consulship with Metellus's son, who was then twenty years old. Marius, who was forty-nine years old at the time, was not amused; Metellus' insult unleashed his latent fury against the arrogant nobles. He started badmouthing Metellus, especially to the traders, probably so that they would repeat his words the next time they were in Italy, and he spread the rumor that the war could be finished within a few days if Metellus were not so fond of power.

Marius was finally allowed to return to Rome, where he won a consulship for 107; he thus became a *novus homo*, "new man," a consul who could not boast of an ancestor who had been consul. He won the consulship because he was *not* a noble; the common people had seen other nobles waste Rome's manpower and resources in the war against Jugurtha, and the scandals of bribery left them even more bitter against the nobles. Here, instead, was a commoner with many awards for valor who gave speeches in plain Latin—the nobles had long before learned from the Greeks the art of giving fancy speeches—and castigated the nobles for their inefficiency, loose morals, and arrogance toward the common people. The plebeians found in Marius something of a folk



hero and made him consul. In one of his speeches, Marius told the common people:

"Those men, they're so arrogant, they have it all wrong [in thinking that their noble birth alone warrants special respect]. Their ancestors left them all the things they could leave them, such as wealth, wax masks, the memory of their brilliant deeds. They didn't leave them manliness, though, and they couldn't. That's the only thing that isn't given and received like a gift. They think I'm uncouth and trashy because I don't give an elegant enough dinner, or I don't have some actor or a cook who's worth more than a slave who manages a farm. My fellow Romans, I'm happy to admit it, because I got it from my father and other upstanding men that pretty things are right for women, but work is a man's job, and that having a good reputation is worth more than money, and that one gets glory not with household objects, but with weapons." (Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* LXXXV.38-40)

Marius returned to Africa to take over Metellus' command. Metellus refused even to meet with Marius upon his return, for Marius had maligned him in particular, despite the help that Metellus had given him in advancing in his career.

While drafting troops, Marius disregarded the property qualifications necessary for becoming a soldier; thus he accepted many men who had no money or property at all. By taking these men as soldiers, Marius started the development of the professional army in Rome, which eventually had tremendous consequences in the fall of the republic. These soldiers had no land to return to upon the end of the war, and the Roman government did not provide any type of pension. As a result, such soldiers became dedicated not to the republic, but to their generals, who as leaders and patrons of their soldiers/clients would provide for their retirement. Thus the generals had whole armies to call upon for help in their political squabbles with the Senate or with other generals.

Marius proved to be an excellent general. He repeatedly defeated Jugurtha in battle, sacked many towns and a few large cities, and captured large numbers of slaves and immense amounts of loot; one of the cities he sacked held Jugurtha's treasury. Still, he was unable to catch the elusive Jugurtha. Finally, when one of Jugurtha's

allies saw that Jugurtha would eventually lose, Marius forced him to give up Jugurtha, dead or alive. Jugurtha was handed over to Sulla, Marius' quaestor (about whom we will hear more), and the war with Jugurtha was finished in 105 B.C.

While Marius was finishing off the war against Jugurtha, the Romans were threatened by the Cimbri and Teutones, Germanic tribes from central Europe that were descending upon Italy. These tribes had already inflicted enormous defeats upon many patrician consuls and their armies. Worried, the Romans elected Marius consul in absentia (which was illegal) for 104 and summoned him to Rome to defend Italy against the Germans. During 104 Marius was lucky, for the Germans went to Spain instead; the Romans reelected him consul for 103, again wanting an experienced general to deal with the Germans. During 103 the Germans failed to appear; Marius then managed to be elected consul again for 102, with the tribune Saturninus promoting his candidature.

In 102 the Germans started their advance on Italy. Marius crossed the Alps to oppose them. For a long time he avoided battle, which the Germans interpreted as cowardice; while marching past the Roman camp, the Germans, laughing, asked the Italians if they had any messages for their wives and daughters, as they would be with them shortly. Once Marius' soldiers started begging him to allow them to fight the Germans, he let them fight; they won that skirmish, and the next day they inflicted a crushing defeat on the Germans, capturing or killing a hundred thousand of them at Aquae Sextiae (modern Aix-en-Provence). The next year, as consul yet again, Marius, with his colleague Catulus, conquered another part of the German armies at Vercellae, taking sixty thousand captives. For that victory Marius was called the third founder of Rome.

### THE TRIBUNATE OF SATURNINUS

Since Marius had taken into his army men who owned no land that they could retire to, he needed land for his veterans. However gifted a general Marius was, he was not adept at politics; therefore, he benefited from the help of the tribune Saturninus. Although born to a plebeian family, Saturninus could boast that one of his

ancestors had been a praetor. While quaestor, Saturninus had been in charge of securing a supply of grain (the *cura annonae*), in accordance with the laws passed by the Gracchi. Owing to a shortage in the grain supply, however, he was removed and replaced by a patrician who relieved the shortage and received the credit and popularity. Angry at this, Saturninus then turned violently against the oligarchy of the Senate.

Saturninus was elected tribune for 103 and tried to pass a law offering land in Africa to Marius' veterans upon their discharge from the army. Another tribune tried to veto the bill; Marius' soldiers, throwing rocks at him, ran him out of the assembly, and the proposed bill became law. Saturninus may have passed a grain bill as well; whether or not he did so, just the attempt would have made him more popular and powerful.

Saturninus was elected tribune again for 100. He proposed another land bill, this one to give allotments of land in Gaul to the veterans of the German wars and to found colonies in Sicily and Greece. The bill was unpopular with the common people of Rome; they saw it as too narrow and too favorable to non-Roman Italians, who were to receive land in the colonies. The Senate objected to the bill because one of its clauses required that senators swear an oath to abide by the law; senators who refused to swear would incur a fine and exile. When the bill was being voted upon, the tribunes who tried to veto it were run off by the soldiers; no one else dared oppose the bill at risk to his life. Therefore, the bill passed, and Marius' soldiers in the German wars received land in Gaul.

Many people—including Marius, who had supported him—were now angry at Saturninus for using violence to get the bill approved. Popular opinion against Saturninus peaked when his friend Glaucia, who was running for the consulate, had his main rival assassinated. The Senate passed the *consultum ultimum* and entrusted Marius with preserving the safety of the state. In the ensuing violence Saturninus, Glaucia, and their supporters were killed.

## CHAPTER 18

## The Italian Wars and the Career of Sulla

By the start of the first century B.C. almost two hundred years had elapsed since Rome had gained control of peninsular Italy. During those years Roman power had spread over many of the Mediterranean lands, a phenomenal success that the Romans could not have achieved without the help of the Latins and the Italian allies.

During that time, however, little change was made to reflect the important role that the Latins and Italian allies had played. The Latins still could not vote in Rome, and the Italian allies had no rights at all against the power of Roman magistrates. Consequently the *Latinum nomen* became less a sign of honor, and more a stigma of second-class status. The conduct of the Roman magistrates was also becoming more obnoxious, and this emphasized to Latins and Italians their inferior position with regard to Romans. In 123 Gaius Gracchus had spoken about this glaring example of the magistrates' abuse of power:

Recently the consul came to Teanum Sidicinum. His wife said that she wanted to bathe in the men's baths. The job of driving out those who were using the baths was given to M. Marius, the quaestor of Sidicinum. The consul's wife announced to him that the baths had not been given up to her quickly enough and that they were not clean enough. Consequently a stake was put in the forum and M. Marius, the most eminent man in the city, was led to it. His clothes were ripped off, and he was flogged. When the people of Cales heard about this, they passed the decree that no one should use the baths when a Roman magistrate was nearby. At Ferentinum, for the same reason, our praetor ordered the



**History Terms for Zoch, pgs. 141-155**

**Tiberius Gracchus**

**Decline of the Peasantry**

**Latifundia and public land**

**Slave rebellions**

**Rights of the Italian Allies (Latin nomen, socii)**

**Tiberius's political moves**

**Gaius Gracchus' proposals**



**Senatus consultum ultimum**

**Numidia**

**King Jugurtha**



**Gaius Marius**

**Novus homo**

**Professional Army**



## Tactics of the tribune Saturninus



